

# glossary

REPORTING MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

FOR INTERNAL USE, AS OF 18.10.2023

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## 1 Note on methodology

Glossary consists **ONLY** of citations from existing sources.

The source is always identified **ABOVE** the quote, including the link and date.

Information is only intended as a rough guide, NO claim to completeness, **updates may be necessary depending on the development of the conflict.**

Information from the ARD term database lexicon is highlighted in blue, as an internal source.

### Information about specific non-news media sources:

Name	Link to source	Information about this
RIAS	<a href="https://report-antisemitism.de">Report Antisemitism (report-antisemitism.de)</a>	<p><a href="#">BAS - RIAS Federal Association (antisemitismuspflichter.de):</a></p> <p>"A central project in the area of combating anti-Semitism is to create a nationwide <b>reporting system to record anti-Semitic incidents</b>, especially cases below the criminal liability threshold. <b>For this project, which is supported by civil society in cooperation with the federal states, the Federal Association of Anti-Semitism Research and Information Centers (Federal Association RIAS) eV was founded in Berlin in October 2018. It is supported with budget funds from the Federal Government Commissioner for Jewish Life and the Fight against Anti-Semitism, who also assumed the patronage.</b> Funding from the "Living Democracy" program of the Federal Ministry for Family, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ) and the commissioner is planned for the coming years.</p> <p>While the individual states decide for themselves on the establishment of local reporting points, the federal association RIAS is to support and accompany the establishment of such a reporting system, taking uniform standards into account.</p> <p>The aim is to use uniform categories to make nationwide data comparable and thus to better illuminate the dark field. The findings obtained in this way can supplement the police situation report and help to obtain a picture of the development of anti-Semitism in Germany that is as realistic as possible. Reporting anti-Semitic crimes, even those below the criminal threshold, should be made easier for those affected. The nationwide, uniform recording of reported cases takes place via the</p>

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		Reporting portal "Report Antisemitism". The recorded incidents serve as a basis for targeted prevention measures. Those affected are also put in touch with help and advice services if they wish."
<b>Amadeus Antonio</b>  <small>Foundation, endowment</small>	<a href="#">Home - Amadeu Antonio Foundation (amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de )</a>	<a href="#">Amadeu Antonio Foundation   Promotion   bpb.de</a>  <p>"The aim of the Amadeu Antonio Foundation is to strengthen a democratic civil society that consistently opposes right-wing extremism, racism and anti-Semitism. It counters the challenges of group-related misanthropy with education, sensitization, advice and support for local initiatives. The Amadeu Antonio Foundation supports projects throughout Germany in the areas of democratic youth culture, schools, victim protection and victim assistance, municipal networks, etc. Another focus is the work against hate speech and toxic speech on the Internet with monitoring</p> <p>, journalistic and educational approaches. The Amadeu Antonio Foundation is a member of the Federal Association of German Foundations and has signed the voluntary commitment of the Transparent Civil Society Initiative."</p>
<b>Belltower News</b>	<a href="#">Belltower.News - Network for digital civil society</a>	<a href="#">Belltower.News - Amadeu Antonio Stiftung (amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de )</a>  <p>"Belltower.News is a news platform for digital civil society. It deals with right-wing extremism, anti-Semitism, the facets of group-related misanthropy and its strategies and argumentation patterns. It also deals with digital violence and communication culture. It is about questions of constructive debate, attitudes and the discussion of diverse responses from the entire democratic spectrum to right-wing populism and racism."</p>
<b>high-Term database</b>		<p>"The ARD term database is offered by WDR as a cross-institutional language forum. It is intended to encourage debate about the use of terms and the choice of words in our reporting. The BDB summarizes the results of these discussions in thematically organized articles. The debates are always open to suggestions via the comment function. All entries are of a recommendatory nature, are intended to provide perspectives for reflection and contribute to the linguistic precision and quality of our reporting.</p> <p><b>No entry is binding or constitutes a regulation."</b></p>

## 2 How does the Tagesschau do it? (E-mail excerpts, October 9, 2023)

"(...) after our exchange at 10:30 today, let's take another look at the wording in the reporting on the Middle East. As we wrote yesterday, we have to look at it from day to day, for example whether and how we use the word "war". Today there are these tips and requests:

**We continue to speak of "attack(s) from Gaza on Israel" or "terrorist attack(s) on Israel". However, "war against Israel" can also be used.**

What must be avoided at all costs are words like "spiral of violence" – and "escalation in the Middle East" does not adequately describe the current situation since Saturday. The situation is more complex.

Please also be careful how we use the word "attack": In this situation, it is "counterattacks by Israel on Gaza". It is shortened to say or write "attacks on Israel and Gaza".

(...)

"As a reminder, the circular email from yesterday: \_\_\_\_\_

Our language working group is currently working intensively on terms and descriptions for reporting on the Middle East. The team is kindly doing this in and between shifts. So this is a quick overview **that XXXX (name anonymized)** has just sent us. And it is already helping us a lot! Please everyone who writes and/or moderates for us read the examples below. This way we can avoid misunderstandings or errors. Also, when using agency texts, please think carefully about whether the wording from dpa and co. is correct. Our colleagues don't always get everything right either..."

(...)

**"Please avoid Hamas 'fighters'!**

As already stated by the editors-in-chief, we should not euphemistically speak of Hamas- Instead of writing and speaking about "fighters", we should talk and write about terrorists. Synonyms that could be used are "militant Islamists", "militant Palestinians", "terrorist militia" or similar.

The anti-Semitic Hamas is widely classified internationally as a terrorist organization.

In contrast to the Israeli army, Hamas does not differentiate between military targets and civilians in its actions. Rather, Hamas' declared goal is the "destruction of Israel." To do this, it uses terrorist means, such as carrying out attacks, indiscriminate rocket fire and the like.

The same applies to members of the "Islamic Jihad" who are involved in the Hamas attack.

## Glossary Reporting on the Middle East Conflict (for internal use)

### **Radical Islam, Islamism, militant Islamism**

Hamas is clearly Islamist in orientation – its goal is the establishment of an Islamic state. However, this goal is also shared by Islamist organizations that do not rely on terror, such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt or the Ennahda party in Tunisia. Hamas, on the other hand, wants to achieve this goal with violence. We therefore recommend the terms "militant Islamist" or "militant Islamists". However, it is not wrong to use the term Islamists on its own.

### **Please avoid the “spiral of violence”**

The phrase says little and usually ignores reality. In the current case, Hamas attacked Israel unexpectedly - we should therefore also speak and write of a "Hamas attack on Israel" or an "attack on Israel".

### **Action and reaction**

With the Israeli army's presumed harsh reaction, the focus and thus our reporting in the coming days will shift to the Gaza Strip and the suffering of the people there. But we should not ignore the fact that Hamas started the current conflict.

### **Who is attacking what?**

The Israeli army responded by launching attacks in the Gaza Strip. In the past, the targets have always been Hamas military facilities. Many civilians often die as a result - Hamas often uses them as human shields. Nevertheless, we should always make it clear that these are usually attacks on military targets.

In this context, we should also refrain from using the euphemistic term "air strikes" that keeps cropping up. These are attacks with missiles and fighter jets."

## 3 Basic terms/understanding

### 3.1 Hamas

Source: ARD term database (as of October 11, 2023)

**“Hamas** is an acronym and stands for **“Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya”**. In English this roughly translates to **“Islamic Resistance Movement”**.

The **“Quassam Brigades”** form Hamas's **military wing**. Hamas was founded on the 10th.

Founded in December 1987, it emerged from the Muslim Brotherhood.

Hamas is widely classified as **a terrorist organization** internationally, including by the USA, the EU and Great Britain. Hamas also differentiates – in contrast

to the Israeli army - in its actions there is no distinction between military objectives and

Civilians. **Hamas' declared goal is the “destruction of Israel.”** To do this, it uses terrorist means, such as carrying out attacks, indiscriminate rocket fire and the like. The same applies to members of the “Islamic Jihad” who take part in Hamas attacks.

The tagesschau **avoids the term “Hamas fighters”** and speaks of **terrorists**. Synonyms include **“militant Islamists”**, **“militant Palestinians”**, **“terrorist militia”** or similar.

**Hamas is clearly Islamist** - its goal is the establishment of an Islamic state.

However, this goal is also shared by other Islamist organizations that do not rely exclusively on terror. **Hamas wants to achieve this goal with violence.** We therefore recommend the terms **"militant Islamist"** or **"militant Islamists"**. However, it is not wrong to use the term **Islamists** alone.

The term **"spiral of violence"** is often used in connection with **Hamas' major attack on Israel in October 2023.** **We view this term critically**, because the escalation here came solely from Hamas, which attacked Israel, to which Israel responded with air strikes in the Gaza Strip, among other things. We therefore recommend speaking of the **"Hamas attack on Israel"** or the **"attack on Israel"**. **However**, looking at the **overall development** over the years, the impression can very well be created that there was a spiral of violence, as correspondent Björn Blaschke explained to us.

(with material from the AG Sprach at ARD aktuell, phone call with **XXXX (name subsequently anonymized)**)

**The UN does not speak of terrorists**, but of **“armed groups”**. The chief spokeswoman for the UN Human Rights Office, Ravina Shamdasani, told the German Press Agency in Geneva on October 11, 2023: "This is a deliberate choice of words. In the context of armed conflicts, international humanitarian law does not define the term terrorism. We therefore speak of armed groups. Armed groups are clearly defined and they have an obligation to comply with international humanitarian law. The violence between Israel and Gaza occurs in the context of an armed conflict and in an occupation situation. Hamas falls under international humanitarian law because it is part of the conflict is."



## 3.2 Fatah

Source: [Gaza Strip, Hamas, Fatah: The most important terms in the Middle East conflict | STERN.de](#)  
(12.10.2023)

- "Fatah is a Palestinian party. Its name stands for "Harakat al-Tahrir al-Watani al-Movement of Palestinian Filastini" – "National Liberation." The party was founded in 1959 and gained broad support after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967. **At first Fatah fought against Israel using guerrilla methods, but from the 1980s onwards it took a diplomatic approach.** This led to the Oslo Accords and the proposal for a two-state solution."
- "Its long-time leader was Yasser Arafat, who co-founded Fatah. Its current leader is Mahmoud Abbas, who is also president of the Palestinian Authority. **Fatah controls the West Bank, while its rival Hamas controls the Gaza Strip. Unlike Hamas, Fatah recognizes Israel** and seeks a two-state solution along the borders established after the 1967 Six-Day War. This would define the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and East Jerusalem as a possible state of Palestine."

Source: [Actor in the Middle East conflict - This is what the radical Islamic Hamas wants - News - SRF](#) (07.10.2023)

- "The moderate Fatah leads the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and was also represented in the Gaza Strip until 2007. According to its own constitution of 1964, the organization pursues the goal of "the complete liberation of Palestine" and the "foundation of an independent democratic state with complete sovereignty over the Palestinian territories and Jerusalem as its capital."
- "**Fatah and Hamas have also made agreements in the past** that aimed at reconciliation and cooperation. However, this has not come to fruition or has only partially come to fruition. In recent years, Fatah has repeatedly lost support among the population. **Hamas has used the lack of leadership from Fatah to pose as the most important defender of the Palestinians.**"

## 3.3 Hezbollah

Source: ARD term database (as of October 12, 2023)

"**Hezbollah** means "Party of God". It is based in Lebanon and is firmly anchored there as a "state within a state", running kindergartens, schools and hospitals, as well as providing educational support and pensions. It also represents its supporters in parliament as a **political party**. Hezbollah also has a powerful **military wing**. Hezbollah calls itself "The Resistance". Its resistance is directed against Israel and also against IS. Hezbollah leader Nasrallah put it much more clearly, saying that his organisation would "**generally not accept the existence of a Jewish state** and would continue to fight until the desired **destruction of Israel**" (University of New Brunswick, 1999). In

Unlike Hamas (Sunni), Hezbollah is **dominated by Shiites**. Hezbollah is supported primarily by Iran, with which it maintains cooperative relations.

The USA, Great Britain and the Netherlands, among others, classify Hezbollah as **a terrorist organization**. The Arab League also made this classification. Only the military wing of Hezbollah has been classified as a terrorist organization by the European Union since 2013. On April 30, 2020, the federal government issued a **ban on Hezbollah's activities** in Germany. Since then, it has been forbidden, among other things, to use Hezbollah's symbols publicly, in a meeting or, for example, in writings as well as audio and video recordings.

**According to the classifications, we can at least speak of terrorists in the case of the members of the militia and describe them as militant Islamists."**

### 3.4 Gaza Strip

Source: [The Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians - conflict dimensions, peace process, current situation \(lpb-bw.de\)](#) (Date unknown, but probably AFTER 2021)

- "A 365 square kilometer strip of Mediterranean coastline between Egypt and Israel that Israel occupied in the June 1967 War. In the summer of 2005, Israel cleared all Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip and withdrew its soldiers from there. **The Gaza Strip is part of the Palestinian Autonomous Territories. The radical Islamic group Hamas has been in power in the Gaza Strip since 2006. However, Israel still controls the borders.** There are repeated violent clashes between Israel and Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. Around two million people live in the Gaza Strip, **most of whom are refugees and their descendants.**"

Source: [War between Israel and Hamas: Briefly explained – who is who and what is what in the Middle East conflict? \(tagesspiegel.de\)](#) (Text in Annex 7, 17.10.2023)

- "A year after the Israeli government cleared the last Jewish settlements in Gaza in 2005, Hamas prevailed in regional elections. She has dominated him ever since. **Elections have not taken place since 2006.**"
- "The Gaza Strip is **one of the most densely populated** with 2.3 million inhabitants **regions of the world**, but are completely dependent on Israeli supplies of electricity, water and food. **80 percent of the population are dependent on aid deliveries**, almost half do not have enough food. According to official figures, unemployment is also at almost 50 percent. 18,000 Palestinians recently had a work permit in Israel. The last time Israeli troops invaded the enclave was in July 2014 ("Operation Protection Edge") and ended six weeks later with an indefinite ceasefire."

## 3.5 West Bank

Source: [The Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians - conflict dimensions, peace process, current situation \(lpb-bw.de\)](#) (Date unknown, but probably AFTER 2021)

- “Area west of the Jordan River, also known as the West Bank in English, which **was conquered by Israel in the June War of 1967 and has been under Israeli military administration ever since. Today, around 60 percent of the area is occupied by Israel, the remaining 40 percent, together with the Gaza Strip, form the Palestinian autonomous areas.** The Palestinian West Bank is controlled by the Fatah movement.”
- “The West Bank has an area of approximately 5,800 square kilometers and an estimated population of 2.5 million Palestinian and 500,000 Jewish settlers (as of 2022).”
- “Since the Oslo Peace Process, the West Bank has been divided into A, B and C areas. A areas are under Palestinian police and civil control, B areas are under Israeli-Palestinian police and Palestinian civil control, and C areas are under Israeli police and civil control.”

Source: [War between Israel and Hamas: Briefly explained - who is who and what is what in the Middle East conflict? \(tagesspiegel.de\)](#) (Text in appendix 7, October 17, 2023)

- “The West Bank is largely under Israeli military administration, around 60 percent are occupied by Israel. **The Palestinian part, where 80 percent of the population lives, is controlled by Fatah.**”

## 3.6 Palestine

Source: [The Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians - conflict dimensions, peace process, current situation \(lpb-bw.de\)](#) (Date unknown, but probably AFTER 2021)

- “Palestine is the original name of an area on the southeastern Mediterranean coast that included modern-day Israel, parts of modern-day Jordan, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.”
- “**Today, Palestinians refer to the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank as State of Palestine. Palestine has observer status at the United Nations and is recognized by many countries in the world, but not by all. Germany has not officially recognized Palestine either.**”
- “The State of Palestine covers an area of around 6,000 square kilometers. Live there, for example five million people. East Jerusalem is claimed as the capital.”
- “The dispute over the original territory of Palestine between Jews and Palestinians is the core of the Middle East conflict, although there are other dimensions of conflict beyond the question of territory.”

## 3.7 Palestinian Authority (PA)

Source: [The Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians - conflict dimensions, peace process, current situation \(ljb-bw.de\)](#) (Date unknown, but probably AFTER 2021)

- “The Palestinian Authority (PA) was created during the Oslo peace process  
Established in 1994 to formally assume government functions such as Palestinian self-government. Since 2013, the term “State of Palestine” has been officially used instead of “Palestinian Authority”, even though the PA and its organs continue to exist. **In Germany, the term “Palestinian Authority” is still in use today.**

Mahmoud Abbas has been President of the Palestinian Authority since 2005.”

## 3.8 Israeli settlements

Source: [War between Israel and Hamas: Briefly explained - who is who and what is what in the Middle East conflict? \(tagesspiegel.de\)](#) (October 17, 2023, text in appendix 7)

- “Without the establishment of Jewish settlements, which began at the beginning of the 20th century, Israel would be unthinkable. But while earlier generations of immigrants were involved in the establishment of a  
“In a community in which many of the errors of other societies should be avoided, be it greed or exclusion, the Jewish settlement movement has become more and more a project of missionary fanatics.”
- “**Hill Top Generation**” is the name given today to those settlers who claim their property  
emphasize “holy ground” with fortress-like satellite towns and want nothing to do with the Palestinian villages in the area. They hardly practice agriculture anymore, but instead occupy hilltops with the intention of at least symbolically ruling over the surrounding area from there. Although they are sometimes heavily armed, the existence of the settlements is guaranteed primarily by the Israeli army.”
- “Even after the **Six-Day War** there were efforts to “Israelize” occupied  
To promote the strategic settlement of Jewish immigrants in certain areas. As Defense Minister Moshe Dayan said, the aim was to create “new facts.” However, national-religious motives did not play a role. That changed when the conservative Prime Minister Menachem Begin took office in 1977. He subsidized the establishment of settlements even in areas that were strategically insignificant. Since then, the settlers’ declared goal has been to forestall the establishment of a Palestinian state. In 1977, 1,900 Jews lived in occupied territories; 40 years later, there were already half a million.”

Source: [The Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians - conflict dimensions, peace process, current situation \(ljb-bw.de\)](#) (Date unclear, probably after 2021)

- “The question of the boundaries of a Palestinian community is closely linked to the  
Israeli settlement policy. Since the occupation of the Palestinian territories (as well as the Syrian Golan Heights and, initially, the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula) in June 1967, Israeli governments of all stripes have pushed forward settlement construction.”
- “Even during the Oslo peace process, the number of settlers continued to increase. **From 1992 to 2000, their number in the West Bank doubled from just over 100,000**

**just under 200,000.** According to a report by the EU Mission to the Occupied Territories, more than 450,000 settlers lived in the West Bank and around 230,000 in East Jerusalem in 2020."

- "Settlements were only evacuated in isolated cases: during the withdrawal from Sinai in 1982 and in August/September 2005, when Israel withdrew around 9,000 settlers from the Gaza Strip and - as a result of massive pressure from the USA - also from four small, isolated settlements in the northern West Bank. In addition, settlement outposts are repeatedly being cleared, which are (so far) illegal under Israeli law. However, many of the outposts are either legalized retrospectively, only temporarily cleared, or rebuilt elsewhere after being cleared."
- "While some of the settlers live in the occupied territories for religious or Zionist reasons, many Israelis moved to the settlements in and around Jerusalem and near the Green Line primarily for economic reasons. **Because of the state subsidies, housing is often much cheaper there than in Israel, state services are generally better, and there are sometimes significant tax breaks.**"
- "For the Palestinian population, the continued construction of settlements, Settlement infrastructure and connecting roads **have resulted in an ever-increasing fragmentation of the territory intended for a Palestinian state, a restriction of freedom of movement, a continued presence of the Israeli military, which controls the settlements and access routes, and the loss of agricultural land and water.** This has not only massively restricted Palestinian agriculture, especially in the Jordan Valley, but has also curtailed development opportunities overall. This is particularly true of the so-called C areas of the West Bank, which make up around 60 percent of its area."

### 3.9 Intifada

Source: [The Middle East conflict between Israelis and Palestinians - conflict dimensions, peace process, current situation \(lpb-bw.de\)](#) (Date unknown, but probably AFTER 2021)

- "Arabic for "to rise up, shake off." **Two Palestinians are called the Intifada Uprisings against the Israeli occupying forces.** The First Intifada lasted from 1987 to 1993, the Second Intifada, also called Al-Aqsa Intifada, from 2000 to 2005."

Source: [Gaza Strip, Hamas, Fatah: The most important terms in the Middle East conflict | STERN.de](#) (12.10.2023)

- "The First Intifada began in December 1987 after tensions had previously risen sharply. The Palestinians initially responded with **economic boycotts, demonstrations, stone throwing and Molotov cocktails.** The Israeli army used **batons, tear gas and ammunition** . The Palestinians also took up arms, and the **violence escalated** and spread. In 1988, the Palestinian National Council proclaimed the State of Palestine, but many states did not recognize it. In 1991, peace negotiations between Israelis, Palestinians and Jordanians began in Madrid. Two years later the Oslo people

Treaties signed between Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.”

- “The Second Intifada began after Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount, which is also holy for Muslims, in September 2000. This triggered mass protests by Palestinians. As with the First Intifada, tensions between the two sides had previously increased. **The Second Intifada differed from the First in that radical Palestinian groups, including Hamas, resorted to carrying out attacks inside Israel.** The number of suicide attacks increased sharply. Ariel Sharon, who became prime minister shortly after the beginning of the Intifada, reacted harshly to the Palestinian attacks and a heavily secured border facility with the Palestinian territories was built. In 2005, the Second Intifada ended with a ceasefire.”

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related anti-Semitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bavaria.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\) \(2021\)](#)

- “There have since been several other outbreaks of violence against Jewish Israelis, sometimes referred to as intifadas, such as the “**Knife Intifada**” of 2015, in which Arab youths often attacked soldiers and civilians with knives, or the “**TikTok Intifada**” from spring 2021, in which Arab youths shared videos on social networks that showed them harassing Jewish youths.”

- More about using it on demos: § 3.1

### 3.10 BDS

Source: ARD term database (as of January 13, 2022)

“**BDS** is a **campaign** founded in 2005 that seeks to isolate Israel internationally. The abbreviation stands for “**Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions**”. The campaign's participants include more than **170 Palestinian organizations**. She also receives international support from **solidarity groups** and **celebrities** such as Roger Waters and Brian Eno. They push  
For example, artists are using social media campaigns to get concerts in Israel to be cancelled. Pressure is also being put on event organisers. Most recently, BDS made headlines when the alliance called for a boycott of the **2019 European Song Contest in Israel**. BDS is taking similar action against companies that have economic relations with Israel. In a 2014 report, the UN attributed the 46 percent decline in foreign investment in Israel to the **growing influence of BDS** .

The **political goal** of BDS is to end the “occupation and settlement of all Arab land,” equal rights for Arab-Palestinian citizens, and a return “to their former homeland.”

Classification is difficult due to the large number of campaign participants and their different orientations .

Particularly with a view to ensuring that reporting is as distanced and impartial as possible, it should be taken into account that **not all supporters of the campaign can be described as anti-Zionist or anti-Semitic.**

Conversely, there are numerous statements and demands from the BDS campaign that can very well be classified in this way. In May 2019, for example, the [Bundestag](#) condemned Calls for a boycott against Israel as “anti-Semitic”.

**Overall, the BDS campaign can definitely be described as “anti-Israel”.** When reporting on **certain parts of the campaign**, the classification “**anti-Zionist**” or “**anti-Semitic**” may also be accurate .

Source: [Anti-Semitism in the BDS campaign | Anti-Semitism | bpb.de](#) (22.03.2021)

- “BDS stands for **boycott, divestment and sanctions** and advocates a comprehensive boycott of Israel in the areas of culture, science and the economy.”
- “BDS supporters and sympathizers view the **campaign as political instrument designed to force the Israeli government to change its policy towards the Palestinians.**”
- “Critics of the campaign, however, emphasize that BDS is an **anti-Semitic movement** that aims not only at the exclusion of individual state actors, bodies or institutions, but at an internationally organized, comprehensive isolation of the Jewish state and its society as a whole.”

Source: [What is behind the BDS movement? – DW – 02.12.2017](#)

- “The idea behind the acronym is to put Israel under international pressure to end the occupation of the Palestinian territories. **The model is - according to the company's own statements - the international isolation of South Africa in the 1990s, which led to the end of apartheid.**”
- “The basic assumption of the BDS activists: The state of Israel is in the oppression of the Palestinians can be compared to the “apartheid state” that differentiated between black and white populations in South Africa. Israel can only continue its policy of “colonialism” because it has international support. **Two accusations, apartheid and colonialism, which Israel vehemently denies.**”

### 3.11 Samidoun



Image source: [Again anti-Israel incidents in Neukölln: Berlin police arrest “Samidoun” activist \(tagesspiegel.de\)](#)

Source: [Pro-Palestinian gatherings: Which organizations stand out with anti-Semitism at demos | rbb24](#)  
(10/10/2023)

- "Samidoun" was founded in the USA in 2011. According to his own statements, it is fine  
The organization is about supporting Palestinian prisoners in Israeli prisons. Samidoun has branches in many countries around the world - including Sweden, France, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands and also Germany.  
**The organization has been under surveillance by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution for some time now, including in Berlin."**
- "Head of the authority Michael Fischer told the rbb24 Abendschau on Monday that this was the case  
The network is considered **anti-Semitic and anti-Israel** and is therefore being observed as an anti-constitutional effort. The activities of "Samidoun" have increased significantly in Berlin over the past two years. The Office for the Protection of the Constitution in Berlin is currently assuming a "personnel potential in the low double-digit range," said Fischer.
- "Samidoun" is considered a support organization of the "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine" (PFLP), which the EU has classified as a terrorist organization since 2002. It denies Israel's right to exist and openly calls for armed struggle against Israel. The Office for the Protection of the Constitution in Berlin estimates that the PFLP has a potential of around 50 people, and the number is rising: in 2021 there were still 40 people."

### 3.12 Zionism

Source: [Zionism | bpb.de \(2008!\)](#)

- "When in the 19th century many Jews in Eastern Europe were attacked by other people who lived there were threatened, i.e. became victims of anti-Semitic attacks, Zionism emerged as a response. The main founder was Theodor Herzl (1860-1904)."
- "The primary goal of the Zionist movement was the **return of Jews living all over the world to the area** between the Mediterranean and the Jordan. This was it for the Zionists  
"It was the original homeland of the Jews, where they wanted to settle and establish their own state. As early as the end of the 19th century, many Jewish immigrants began building Jewish settlements in this region. There were repeated disputes with the Arab population that lived there."
- More on the use of the term on demos § 3.6

### 3.13 Anti-Semitism

Source: ARD term database (as of April 29, 2022)

"At WDR we spoke with colleagues about the term. The reason for this was also recent events in the Middle East conflict. Here are a few comments from the exchange:

First of all: There is no legally binding definition of "anti-Semitism". However, the German government and the EU Commission, for example, are guided by the definition of the IHRA (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance) from 2016.

**"Anti-Semitism** is a certain perception of Jews, which can be expressed as hatred towards Jews. Anti-Semitism is directed in word and deed against Jewish or non-Jewish people.



## Glossary Reporting on the Middle East Conflict (for internal use)

Jewish individuals and/or their property, as well as against Jewish community institutions and religious establishments.”

Starting from this point, it is important to describe the events as specifically as possible. This is the best way to avoid generalizations. Example demonstration: “In Essen, 200 people demonstrated against Israel.” The completely vague “against Israel” opens up space for any speculation. Was there a demonstration against the State of Israel? Does “Israel” represent Judaism here? Or was the protest directed against the policies of the Israeli government? Everything is unclear. (See 3-D check below) So it's better to formulate it specifically, because what exactly was going on is important for classification: “In Essen, 200 people demonstrated against the Israeli government's settlement policy.” Or: “In Essen, 200 supporters of the Palestinian terrorist organization Hamas demonstrated.”

It is also important to avoid generalizations with regard to the actors: there are no “Palestinians” any more than “the Israelis”. The Israeli military and Hamas fighters operate here. In short: the more specific the description, the easier it is to avoid generalizations such as “anti-Israel demonstration”, “pro-Palestinian rally” and the like.

**Second important point:** correctly assess cause and effect, check causality: “Israel bombed the Gaza Strip.” Yes, that's true, but: in what context? Is there a causality? Or was it just a pretext? Was it a reaction? All of this cannot be presented in detail in short news reports, nor can it be done in short social media posts. But what is possible: at least mention the chronology. “The Israeli army bombed buildings in the Gaza Strip. Before that, rockets were fired at Tel Aviv by the Palestinian terrorist organization Hamas.” We deliberately did not use the term “(rocket) attack” in either example. Especially in abbreviated representations, “attack” automatically triggers an attribution of blame, which is usually only inadequately resolved in the text.

can be.

In short: a lack of space suppresses a lot of background information, but a presentation over time at least preserves the latest developments in one context.

**Third important point:** Clear identification of extremist positions. Statements and actions that, for example, B. those directed against the existence of Israel or the Jewish faith are anti-Semitic and must be described as such. Just as there is no question about what Hamas is doing, namely terrorism. There are also countless shades of gray, which we can't even list at this point. “Anti-Semitic” and “anti-Jewish” terms can be used interchangeably. If it is particularly about “Islamic anti-Semitism”, the obvious synonym is “Muslim anti-Semitism”. It should be borne in mind that “Muslim” makes a direct reference to the believer, while “Islamic” makes a clear reference to religion and is therefore the more differentiated formulation.

We recommend the so-called **3-D check as a good tool:** If at least one D applies, there is anti-Semitism. Demonization (e.g. comparing Israel with National Socialism), delegitimization (doubts about Israel's right to exist) and double standards (or double standards, e.g. Criticism of an action by Israel that is not accused of other countries in a comparable form).

In short: Whenever doubts arise about your own or someone else's wording, I do a quick 3D check. And of course, the additional assessment of colleagues always helps, that's what makes an editorial team special.”

### 3.14 Kibbutz

Source: [Israel: What is a kibbutz? \(rnd.de\)](#) (11.10.2023)

- "A kibbutz (plural: kibbutzim) is a **form of Jewish Community settlements in which daily life is organized more or less collectively**. The term kibbutz is derived from the Hebrew word "Kwuzza" and means "group" or "gathering".
- "Depending on their orientation, there are secular and religious kibbutzim, in which Jewish traditions are maintained to varying degrees. In their original concept, kibbutzim were to be socialist and Zionist. The goal of the kibbutz idea, which arose from the expulsion of Jews in the 19th century, was the idea of a Jewish workers' state and the establishment of a classless society in which property is distributed communally."
- "Over time, many of the kibbutz's original ideas lost their meaning to the members. Economic factors and a strengthening of conservative family images in which women took on the traditional role of mothers increasingly led to the kibbutz becoming less attractive as a collectivist way of life in modern Israel."

### 3.15 Reasons of State

Source: [Israel and Germany's reason of state: What does that mean? – DW – October 16, 2023](#)

- "Former German Chancellor **Angela Merkel** used this term in her speech to the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, in 2008. Her successor **Olaf Scholz** has repeated it since the brutal surprise attack by Hamas that left hundreds of Israelis dead."
- "At this moment, there is only one place for Germany. The place at Israel's side. That is what we mean when we say: Israel's security is German state policy," said Chancellor Olaf Scholz in his government statement.  
**In concrete terms, this means that Germany, like other allies, supports Israel's right to self-defense and the resulting measures in the Gaza Strip.**
- "It has never been spelled out in Germany what that means," explains the military expert Carlo Masala, professor at the University of the Bundeswehr in Munich. **"If you are really serious about the fact that this is part of Germany's reasons of state, then morally and politically it has a kind of constitutional status. Then that means that at the moment when Israel's existence is at stake, Germany would have to be ready to actively support Israel to defend. That is the logical consequence."**
- "The "reason of state" is a concept in legal theory and international politics that has evolved over the centuries in Western political thought as the roles, rights and powers of modern states have evolved. "Reason of state" is understood to mean the principle according to which a state is entitled to rely on the fact that the **nation's self-interests** have priority when justifying its own foreign policy."
- "Raison d'état gives state interests priority over other values," says Marietta Auer, Managing Director of the Max Planck Institute for Legal History and Legal Theory,

to DW. She warns that protecting the State of Israel could prove to be a value could **counteract other German interests** .”

- “By a head of government making the German position on Israel the Klaus Dieter Wolf, former professor of international relations at the Technical University of Darmstadt, also believes that “reasons of state” arise if he or she succeeds in ending the debate in an interview with DW. “I declare a certain concrete political intention to be ‘reason of state’ in order to make it unassailable to contradiction,” said Wolf, who has written about the effects of “reason of state.”
- This has “serious consequences” for real politics, he added: If a state can simply ignore certain principles - principles that the state must defend, such as democratic rights, human rights and international law - then it is undermining them. “
- “The application of ‘reason of state’ gives priority to a state interest - which in turn **can collide with international law**. “There is no hierarchy in international law,” Joost Hiltermann, the MENA program director of the International Crisis Group, told DW. “Whatever Germany may say about its intrinsic right to stand by Israel, it does not absolve it of its responsibility to respect and uphold international humanitarian law, which governs the means of warfare.”

### 3.16 Nakba

Source: [75 years after the Nakba | Israel | bpb.de](#) (28.04.2023)

- “The Nakba marks one of the central dates, if not the central date, in the history of the Palestinians.”
- “The Nakba refers to the **flight and expulsion of a large part of the Palestinian residents from what is now Israel**: Between 1947 and 1949, between 700,000 and 750,000 Palestinians were forced to leave the area. At the same time, the establishment of Israel in most of the former British Mandate of Palestine (around 77 percent) meant the permanent loss of large parts of the territory on which a Palestinian state could have been established.”
- “For Palestinians, the Nakba is not just an event in the past. Rather, they also use the term to describe the reality of their current lives. To date, the Palestinian striving for national self-determination has not been fulfilled, the refugees and their descendants, often **stateless, live in exile**, Palestinian citizens of Israel are **discriminated** against and Palestinians **are displaced in the occupied territories**.”

Source: [The Palestinians and Israel: What is the Nakba? – DW – May 14, 2023](#)

- “The Arabic word Nakba means catastrophe or misfortune. In reference to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the term Nakba (also: al-Nakba) is used to commemorate the fact that many Palestinians **lost their ancestral homeland during and after the first Arab-Israeli war of 1948**.”
- “Most Palestinians ended up in the Gaza Strip as stateless refugees West Bank and in neighboring Arab countries, only a minority moved to the further 16

distant abroad. To date, only a fraction of the next generation has

Palestinians in the region have been granted a different nationality. As a result, the majority of the now approximately 6.2 million Palestinians in the Middle East are third or fourth generation **stateless**."

- "According to the UN refugee agency UNRWA, most Palestinians in the region still live in **refugee camps**. These have developed over time into refugee cities. Descendants of Palestinian refugees now live mainly in the Gaza Strip, the occupied West Bank, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and East Jerusalem."

## 4 slogans, sayings, statements, e.g. at demos

### 4.1 "Intifada until victory" (and others)

Definition/history is already above in § 3.9

- Addition to use at demos: In the past also used as an exclamation at demos: **"Intifada is our class struggle"**  
[Administrative court: Court confirms ban on Palestinian demonstration | TIME ONLINE //](#) **"Intifada to Victory"** [Open hatred of Jews at anti-Israel demonstrations - Amadeu Antonio Foundation \(amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de\)](#)

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related anti-Semitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bavaria.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#) (2021)

- "The term Intifada can also be understood as a call for violence and the destruction of the Israeli state. **When, for example, there is talk of an "Intifada until victory", this refers to the "Israeli occupation"**. In the Middle East, however, this rarely means the withdrawal of the Israeli military from the disputed territories and the recognition of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, but rather the destruction of the Jewish state itself."

## 4.2 „From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free”



Image source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related anti-Semitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bavaria.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#)

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bayern 2021 - RIAS Bayern.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#) (2021)

- “In German: “From the river to the sea – Palestine will be free!”
- “This refers to the **Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea** – so what is called for is a Palestine that extends across the entire area of today's Israel as well as the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. **There would be no room for a Jewish state, so the slogan can be understood as a wish for the end of Israel.** The alleged demand for “freedom” also contains the claim that the country is not free under Israeli control and that Israel is an illegitimate occupying regime that must be eliminated.”
- “A **map** showing the area “from the river to the sea” is also often seen in this context. Most of the time, the entire territory is decorated in the colors of the Palestinian flag. This means: “All of Palestine” should be freed from “the Zionists”, Israel should cease to exist and be replaced by a Palestinian state. Those who shout this slogan are not concerned with a two-state solution, but with a no-state-Israel solution.”

Source: [Demonstrations: Palestine slogans punishable: "From the River to the Sea" | TIME ONLINE](#) (13. October 2023)

- “In view of the terrorist attack on Israel, Berlin public prosecutors and police want to take more rigid action against anti-Israel slogans at demonstrations by Palestinian groups. **The use of the often used slogan “From the River to the Sea,**



**Palestine will be free' is now being classified as a criminal offence by the public prosecutor's office, a police spokeswoman told the German Press Agency on Friday."**

- "The sentence means that there should be a free Palestine in an area from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea - where Israel is now. **At demonstrations, corresponding maps show the area entirely in green, the color of Islam."**

### 4.3 #freepalestine / "Free Palestine. Equal Rights"

Source: [Demos: Which statements are anti-Semitic? – DW – May 25, 2021](#)

- "Daniel Poensgen, RIAS: "It is anti-Semitic to demand the liberation of Palestine if **This means the abolition of Israel and thus the denial of the right of Jews to self-determination.** This is the case, for example, in the slogan "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free": Here, the outline of the borders of Palestine makes it clear that Israel is to be destroyed. **However, this is not automatically the case in the demand "Free Palestine".** The demand for equal rights is not anti-Semitic. **Such demands are not recorded by RIAS as anti-Semitic statements."**

### 4.4 "Baby murderer Israel" / "Child murderer"



Image source: [Left, progressive – and anti-Semitic: The secret power of Israel haters \(tagesspiegel.de\)](#)

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bayern 2021 - \\_RIAS\\_Bayern.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#) (2021)

- "The motif of child-murdering Israel **goes back to the medieval anti-Semitic ritual murder legend according to which Jews murder children in order to use their blood for ritual purposes.** Calling Israel a "child murderer" clearly shows how anti-Semitic stereotypes are applied to Israel, which thus becomes a "collective Jew." The depiction of Israeli politicians or soldiers as bloodthirsty beasts is also often in this tradition."

Source: [Middle East demonstrations: criticism of Israel or anti-Semitism? | tagesschau.de](https://www.tagesschau.de/middle-east/demonstrations-criticism-of-israel-or-anti-semitism?tagesschau.de) (20.05.2021)

- "This accusation is simply wrong," says Samuel Salzborn in the fact finder podcast. **"And this is wrong because Israel as a state does not have the goal of Murder children."**
- "In a conversation with Anja Reschke, the country's anti-Semitism commissioner explains Berlin, unfortunately, "there is no question that children can also die in acts of war. But this accusation suggests that Israel's political goal is to murder children." It is therefore anti-Semitism - and above all a lie."
- "The motif of the 'child murderer Israel', according to Wetzel, also goes back to the so-called Ritual murder legend, namely the claim that Jews kidnap children and then kill them in order to use their blood to make bread for Passover. This legend led, for example, to a mob killing 42 survivors of the Shoah in Poland shortly after the Second World War. **Images of Israeli politicians who were portrayed as child eaters and bloodsuckers also follow this anti-Semitic tradition."**

## 4.5 "Stop doing what Hitler did to you"



Image source [From the river to the sea - Israelthemen Antisemitismus in Bayern 2021 - RIAS Bayern.pdf](https://www.riass.de/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/From_the_river_to_the_sea_-_Israelthemen_Antisemitismus_in_Bayern_2021_-_RIAS_Bayern.pdf) (report-antisemitism.de)

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related anti-Semitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bayern.pdf](https://www.riass.de/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/From_the_river_to_the_sea_-_Israel-related_anti-Semitism_in_Bavaria_2021_-_RIAS_Bayern.pdf) (report-antisemitism.de) (2021)

- "Israel is not carrying out a second Holocaust. It is not deporting all Palestinians it can get its hands on to extermination factories in order to redeem the world from 'Palestinianism', and it does not plan to do so. Anyone who claims otherwise is trying to downplay the Shoah, the Jewish experience of persecution and the attempt at total

Annihilation, to take a position against the Jewish state. **National Socialism and the Shoah are being exploited here to accuse Israel of the worst possible crimes that it has not committed and is not committing."**

- "This gives you understanding and support for your own situation – even if you are the attacker. This is a perpetrator-victim reversal typical of post-Shoah anti-Semitism, which also relativizes and trivializes National Socialism and the Shoah. If Israel is imagined as an anti-Semitic cipher for "the Jews" as revenants of National Socialism, one "may", yes, "must" hate Israel and Israelis. **In this way, anti-Semitic feelings can be lived out without having to admit to yourself that you are doing so.** In addition, anti-Semitic resentments that hide behind seemingly harmless 'criticism of Israel' are hardly frowned upon by society, while clumsy racial anti-Semitism of the National Socialist style is sanctioned much more heavily."

Source: [Demos: Which statements are anti-Semitic? – DW – May 25, 2021](#)

- "Daniel Poensgen from the Federal Association Report Antisemitism RIAS\*: "It is anti-Semitic to equate Israel's actions with the Shoah and the crimes of the Germans during the Nazi era. **This reversal of perpetrator and victim is part of a guilt-avoidance anti-Semitism:** one's own collective, for example a national or religious one, is imagined as guilt-free, while the historical victims are made into equally bad perpetrators - and thus the crimes of the Nazis are legitimized.

Forms of anti-Semitic perpetrator-victim reversal are widespread in Germany, as numerous demonstrations against Corona policy have recently shown: Here, many participants staged themselves as persecuted Jews of today, for example by wearing so-called Jewish stars with the inscription 'unvaccinated'."

## 4.6 "Zionism – Terrorism" ("Zionism = Terrorism")

- Definition of Zionism § 3.12

Source: [Demos: Which statements are anti-Semitic? – DW – May 25, 2021](#)

- "Tom Uhlig from the Anne Frank Education Center\*: "Zionism is a complex and very heterogeneous movement, at the heart of which is the desire for a homeland of its own for Jews. In addition to religious motives, there is also the idea of being safe from persecution. **The equation of Zionism with terrorism is intended to delegitimize the Israeli state and is therefore to be considered anti-Semitic."**



#### 4.7 "Mohammed's army will return!"

Source: [Demos: Which statements are anti-Semitic? – DW – May 25, 2021](#)

- "Tom Uhlig, Anne Frank Education Centre: "Here, nationalism is combined with Islamic anti-Judaism. The call refers to Mohammed's campaign in 628 against the Jewish-populated oasis of Khaybar. [Editor's note: Located in present-day Saudi Arabia, about 150 kilometres north of Medina.] **An anti-Semitic threat of annihilation is made here.**"

#### 4.8 "My voice against settlement colonialism and ethnic cleansing"

Source: [Demos: Which statements are anti-Semitic? – DW – May 25, 2021](#)

- "Daniel Poensgen from the Federal Association of Research and Information Centers Anti-Semitism RIAS: "It is anti-Semitic to describe Israel, for example, as a colonial or racist entity. If this description does not do justice to the historical facts, it serves above all to delegitimize Israel as a nation state and thus **deny Jews alone the right to (national) self-determination.**"

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bayern 2021 - \\_RIAS\\_Bavaria.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\) \(2021\)](#)

- **"In order to be able to describe Israel as a colonial project, the colonial motherland is simply missing - the British did not fulfill this role in any way.** A colony is a foreign dependent territory without its own political and economic power. This also does not apply to Israel."
- "The accusation of colonialism against Israel, like that of apartheid and racism, is not new. However, it has recently become more prominent with the emergence of new social movements such as Black Lives Matter, which also see themselves as "anti-colonial". This also seems to be a consequence of the fact that such movements arose particularly in the Anglo-American region and then arrived in Germany with a delay. While in Germany the worst thing with which one can compare Israel is National Socialism (see comparison of Israeli politics with the Shoah and National Socialism), colonialism and racism often occupy a comparable position in the historiography of Great Britain and the USA. Both accusations against Israel can therefore also be interpreted **as exonerating anti-Semitism** . It is claimed that the Jews, i.e. the previous victims, are doing the same thing as their own ancestors did. **For some, the fight against the Jewish state also becomes a defense against their own history.**"

## 4.9 "Don't be racist. Love Palestine."

Source: [Demos: Which statements are anti-Semitic? – DW – 25.05.2021](#)

- “Tom Uhlig, Anne Frank Education Centre: “To demand love for a nation because one otherwise racist, suggests a rather twisted understanding of racism and, **in the context of the demonstrations, suggests that solidarity with Israel is racially motivated.** The causal connection constructed in the statement is flimsy, because racism exists not only in Israel, but also in Palestine, not to mention anti-Semitism.”

## 4.10 “Dear Germany, stop arming Israel”

Source: [Demos: Which statements are anti-Semitic? – DW – May 25, 2021](#)

- “Tom Uhlig: “Antimilitarism is legitimate, perhaps even necessary, political Attitude. If it is interpreted one-sidedly towards Israel [Editor's note: as in this case of an anti-Israel demonstration], however, it means **wanting the Jewish state to be defenseless.** As long as arms are supplied to Hamas, for example by Iran, arms deliveries to Israel are a question of survival.”

## 4.11 “End Israeli Apartheid” / Apartheid allegations

Source: [Documentation on the accusation of Israel's apartheid policy in the Palestinian territories \(bundestag.de\)](#) (April 17, 2023)

- “Recently, several human rights organizations – including Palestinian NGOs such as Al Haq<sup>1</sup> or the Al Mezan Center for Human Rights,<sup>2</sup> but **also Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International** – have criticized Israel's policies in the occupied territories as ‘apartheid policies’. In its latest annual report of March 28, 2023, Amnesty International once again linked Israel to the apartheid accusation.”
- “It is not only in the Israeli media that the apartheid allegations of the Human rights organizations have **criticized** the report; the Amnesty report in particular has been accused **of anti-Semitism**. Academic think tanks such as the International Human Rights Clinic at Harvard Law School and the SWP have also examined the Amnesty report on apartheid allegations against Israel and have also made their own political and legal assessments.”
- “The issue is also within the framework of the UN Human Rights Council  
“Apartheid in the Palestinian territories” has been on the agenda for years – the report by UN special rapporteur Richard Falk should be mentioned, among others.”

Source: [Amnesty International and the apartheid accusation against Israel - Science and Politics Foundation \(swp-berlin.org\)](#) (2022)

- "On February 1, 2022, Amnesty International presented a comprehensive report, in which accuses Israel of perpetrating apartheid against the Palestinians and thus committing a **crime against humanity**. The Amnesty report is one of a series of publications by Palestinian, Israeli and international human rights organizations that believe that the threshold to apartheid has now been crossed in Israel and the Palestinian territories. Opinions differ in the individual reports as to the area in which such crimes against humanity are being committed."
- **"The federal government should not adopt the apartheid accusation without careful examination, but should take seriously the serious human rights violations documented by the Amnesty report.**  
This gives Germany direct legal obligations based on the Geneva Conventions alone."

Source: [Israel-related-antisemitism-faltblatt.pdf \(amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de\)](#) (date unknown)

- "It is alleged that the State of Israel is an apartheid state. But: Minorities occupy high-ranking positions and hold public office; they are represented and integrated in all areas of society and life. Israel is not an apartheid state. To claim this **demonizes and delegitimizes the Israeli state** (see 3-D test). What's more: it fuels calls for a boycott of Israel and forces German Jews to take a position. **Last but not least, it trivializes the crimes of the apartheid state of South Africa.**"
- "Apartheid", a term under international law, describes a systematic policy of "Racial segregation" within a state. The term emerged during the rule of the white minority over the black majority in South Africa. Different laws applied to white and black people between 1948 and 1994."
- "Black people in South Africa were not allowed to hold public office and Positions of power were forbidden, they had no or only limited voting rights, they were not allowed to have relationships with whites and were not allowed to own land. This state-regulated oppression structured all of public and private life, regulating access to the education and health systems, jobs and places of residence."
- "The Anti-Apartheid Convention (1973), initiated at the initiative of the UN General Assembly defined apartheid as a "crime against humanity". In 1998, after the end of apartheid in South Africa, the International Criminal Court included "apartheid" in international criminal law.

Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bayern 2021 - RIAS\\_Bavaria.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#) (2021)

- "For over 50 years, Israel has been compared to apartheid South Africa, but this accusation does not originate with black South Africans or Palestinians,

but **in the Soviet Union**, which supported the Arab states in their fight against Israel for geopolitical and ideological reasons. In 1975, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution equating Zionism with racism and accordingly mentioning South Africa in the same breath as Israel. It was withdrawn in 1991 after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the real socialist bloc of states. However, the equation is still present, for example during the annual worldwide **"Israel Apartheid Week"** in events at universities, for example. The equation of Israel with the apartheid state of South Africa also continues to resonate worldwide to this day; it is one of the central ideologemes of the global campaign for boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) against Israel."

- "The counterfactual accusations that Israel is an apartheid state or that Zionism is Racism is part of the anti-Semitic tradition of **delegitimizing Israel as fundamentally racist**, with the aim of ending its existence as a Jewish state. This is anti-Semitic because Israel, as a Jewish sovereign, protects Jews from the consequences of anti-Semitism."

## 4.12 "Israel is our misfortune"

Source: [Israel-related-antisemitism-faltblatt.pdf \(amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de\)](#) (date unknown)

- "The slogan "Israel is our misfortune!", particularly on the extreme right is widespread, **demonizes the state of Israel** (see 3-D test). It is directly linked to the slogan "The Jews are our misfortune!" (1879) by the historian and politician Heinrich von Treitschke. **During National Socialism, Treitschke's slogan was in the subheading of the anti-Semitic propaganda newspaper "Der Stürmer" by Julius Streicher**
- "Behind the slogan lies the conviction that "world Jewry" wants to enslave humanity and the peoples of the earth and drive them into misery. The "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" (1903) played a key role in spreading the anti-Semitic myth of a "Jewish world conspiracy". The fictional "Protocols" claim to be real secret protocols of powerful "Jews" who were planning a world conspiracy. The anti-Semitic pamphlet became a bestseller and was quickly published in countless editions and languages."
- "The myth of a 'Jewish world conspiracy' provided the Nazi state with the pretext To disenfranchise, persecute and murder Jews. In this way, the anti-Semitic conspiracy ideology becomes an ideology of extermination. **Today, anti-Semitic conspiracy ideologies are often mixed with anti-Americanism. This is evident in the codes "Jewnited States" and "USrael".** They show that today the word "Israel" is often used instead of "Jews" when a Jewish world conspiracy is to be suggested. Israel is said to mean "the Jews"

## 4.13 "Udrub Udrub Tal Abib" (Gesang/Lied)

Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, Codes, Slogans at Anti-Israel Demos - Belltower.News](#)

(3.June 2021)

- "The Hamas pop song **"Udrub Udrub Tal Abib"** (approximate wording: **"Bombed, bombed Tel Aviv"**) is a popular song of Israel's enemies. "Oh Qassam, oh darling – "Strike, destroy Tel Aviv" is a sign of sympathy for Hamas. Qassam are rockets developed by Hamas. The "Qassam Brigades" are also the military wing of Hamas."

## 4.14 "Khaybar Khaybar"

Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, Codes, Slogans at Anti-Israel Demos - Belltower.News](#)

(3.June 2021)

- "Khaybar Khaybar yä Yahyd, jaysh-i Muḡammad sawf-a ya'yd" („**Khaybar, Khaybar, ihr Jews, Mohammed's army is returning**") is an anti-Semitic slogan of extermination that is often chanted at demonstrations. This slogan refers to the Battle of Khaybar in Islamic historiography. In the year 628, Mohammed is said to have violently conquered the Jewish-populated oasis of Khaybar (in present-day Saudi Arabia)."

Source: [MMST17-4574.pdf \(nrw.de\)](#) (Statement by the State Association of Jewish Communities of Westphalia-Lippe, 2021)

- "The slogan is therefore an **implicit call for violence against Jews** and, according to our findings, was heard at demonstrations in Münster, Bielefeld and Gelsenkirchen, among others."

## 5 illustrations, pictures, maps, graphics, flags

### 5.1 Flag of Hamas

Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, Codes, Slogans at Anti-Israel Demos - Belltower.News](#)

(3.June 2021)



- "Hamas flags and headbands can also be seen at demonstrations in Germany."

### 5.2 Hamas-Emblem

Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israeli demonstrations - Belltower.News](#)

(3.June 2021)



- "The Hamas emblem features the **Dome of the Rock**, **two crossed swords** and a **map of modern-day Israel**, including the West Bank and Gaza Strip, depicted entirely as Palestine."

### 5.3 Coat of arms of the Palestinian Authority



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, Codes, Slogans at Anti-Israel Demos - Belltower.News](#)  
(3.June 2021)

- **"The coat of arms of the Palestinian Authority, as a flag on a white background.** The Palestinian Authority (abbreviated PNA or PA) was a quasi-governmental institution that nominally exercised government functions in the Palestinian territories in the West Bank and Gaza Strip since 1994."
- "On 7 January 2013, President Mahmoud Abbas ordered that in future official correspondence Use the term "State of Palestine" instead of "Palestinian Authority". However, he did not formally dissolve the Palestinian Authority and its organs continue to operate under the new name."
- **Attention:** There is another coat of arms that looks similar with different lettering and slightly different colors, which is supposed to stand for the "State of Palestine": [The coat of arms of Palestine - the Palestinian coat of arms \(laenderservice.de\)](#) // [History of Palestine from its beginnings to today \(lpb-bw.de\)](#)

### 5.4 Islamic State / Daesh



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israeli demonstrations - Belltower.News](#)  
(3.June 2021)

- **"The so-called "Islamic State" (IS) is a Salafist militia that has been active as a terrorist since 2003.** The terrorist group tyrannizes primarily the population in the crisis-ridden countries of Syria and Iraq. For years, IS controlled huge areas in both

## Glossary Reporting Middle East Conflict (for internal use)

countries. The goal of IS is to establish a caliphate (theocracy) in the Middle East. Another term for the so-called "Islamic State" is Daesh, Daesh or Da'esh (pronounced Da-esh)."

- "The acronym is used in a derogatory way, reminiscent of other Arabic terms that "It can mean something like "sowing discord" or "trampling" and rejects the claim of IS, which the Islamist fundamentalists themselves make: to be the state structure in which all Muslims worldwide live in the only way that is supposed to be truly Islamic."

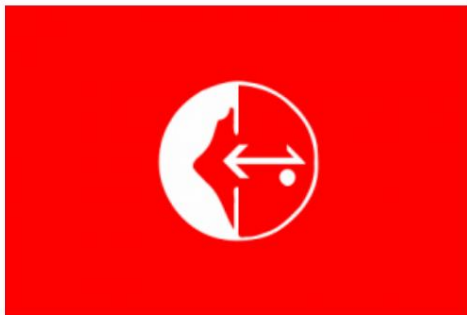
### 5.5 Gray Wolves



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israeli demonstrations - Belltower.News](#)  
(3.June 2021)

- "The Ülkücü movement is a **heterogeneous Turkish right-wing extremist movement**. According to the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, the Ülkücü movement has at least 11,000 members in Germany. The flag of the Ülkücü movement (Turkish: "Idealists") shows a wolf in a crescent moon on a red background."
- "The Federal Agency for Civic Education describes the group that is under the Known as the "Gray Wolves" and the "largest right-wing extremist organization in Germany". Their logo is a wolf's head, which comes from an ancient Turkish myth and is intended to symbolize the strength and aggressiveness of the movement. The activists propagate an "ethnic nationalism"; their great ideal is "Turan", a Greater Turkish Empire, and the elimination of political opponents."

### 5.6 PLFP: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, Codes, Slogans at Anti-Israel Demos - Belltower.News](#)  
(3.June 2021)



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- "The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (Palestinian National Labor Commission, PFLP) was founded on December 11, 1967 in response to the defeat of several Arab states against Israel in the Six-Day War, making it one of the oldest militant Palestinian organizations. The Popular Front's stated goal: "The liberation of all of Palestine through armed struggle and the establishment of a democratic and socialist Palestinian state." From 1967 to 1972, it organized airplane hijackings and hostage-taking. Later, it mainly carried out bomb attacks in the occupied territories and in Israel itself. **In the EU and the USA, the PLFP is considered a terrorist organization.**"
- "The PFLP does not carry out suicide attacks. Unlike Hamas or the Islamic Jihad is not a radical Islamic organization. **It sees itself more as a Marxist-Leninist, secular movement and combines Arab nationalist goals with the aim of liberating Palestine, which implies the destruction of Israel.** And armed struggle always plays a decisive role in this. The "Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades" are the militant arm of the Marxist-Leninist group."

## 5.7 Palestinian Islamic Jihad + Al-Quds Brigades



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israeli demonstrations - Belltower.News](#)  
(3.June 2021)

- "The Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) is a **Palestinian Islamist Group. It rejects a two-state solution and aims at the destruction of Israel.** The **armed wing of the PIJ is the Al-Quds Brigades** (Al-Quds is the Arabic name for Jerusalem). The Al-Quds Brigades are the second largest group in Gaza after Hamas. The PIJ and the Al-Quds Brigades are responsible for a number of attacks, including bombings and rocket attacks on Israel. **The PIJ is classified as a terrorist organization by the European Union.**"

## 5.8 Flag of the Fatah movement



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, Codes, Slogans at Anti-Israel Demos - Belltower.News](#)

(3.June 2021)

- "Fatah is the **largest movement within the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)**, to which Hamas is not a member. Fatah was founded in 1965 by Yasser Arafat and has led the Palestinian struggle for their own state for decades. It has effectively led the negotiations with Israel and signed agreements. The current head of the movement is President Mahmoud Abbas."

## 5.9 Flag of Hezbollah



Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, Codes, Slogans at Anti-Israel Demos - Belltower.News](#)

(3.June 2021)

- "Hezbollah (Arabic: "Party of God") is a **Shiite movement in Lebanon**. When Israel invaded Lebanon in June 1982, Hezbollah was born: this new militia was founded at the instigation of Iran. Since then, as a "state within a state," the Islamist Hezbollah has not only controlled Lebanon through its militia militarily, but also politically through their party. **Hezbollah is banned in Germany.**"

## 5.10 Key



Image source: [Despite concerns about anti-Semitic slogans: So far no ban on pro-Palestine demonstration this weekend in Berlin \(tagesspiegel.de\)](https://www.tagesspiegel.de)

Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israeli demonstrations - Belltower.News](https://www.belltower.news)  
(3.June 2021)

- “Keys **can often be seen** particularly at demonstrations related to the “Nakba” (in Arabic, the flight and expulsion of Arab Palestinians from the former British mandate of Palestine) .”
- “These are intended to symbolize the **right of return of Palestinian refugees** .”
- “In the course of the founding of the State of Israel and the war with its Arab Neighbouring countries forced around 700,000 Arabs to leave their homes, which are now on Israeli territory - some of them voluntarily, some of them using force by the Israeli army. Unlike all other refugees, these refugees have their own UN aid agency, UNRWA. This agency also defines refugee status in a unique way, so that it can also be applied to descendants.”
- “As a result, around 5 million people are now considered Palestinian refugees, a ‘return’ of these people to Israel would result in Jews becoming a minority in Israel.”

Source: [From\\_the\\_river\\_to\\_the\\_sea\\_-\\_Israel-related\\_anti-Semitism\\_in\\_Bavaria\\_2021\\_-\\_RIAS\\_Bavaria.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](https://www.riase.de) (2021)

- “At anti-Israel rallies, the right of return for the Arab refugees who left or were expelled from what is now Israel in the course of the Israeli War of Independence (1947–1949). **The symbol for this is a key that stands for access to the houses of the Arab refugees.**  
**The refugees kept these keys in the hope of a speedy return.”**

### 5.11 Map in the colors of Palestine



Image source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, Codes, Slogans at Anti-Israel Demos - Belltower.News](#) // [Palestine Kufiyah Stickers](#) | [Palestine Map Sticker](#) | [Free Palestine Sti – Lulu & May \(luluandmay.co\)](#)

Source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, Codes, Slogans at Anti-Israel Demos - Belltower.News](#)

(3.June 2021)

- “A popular symbol among Israel enemies is the Israeli map in the Palestinian colors. **Such depictions are intended to express that Israel has no right to exist and imply a no-state-Israel solution.**”
- “In addition, a **map of Israel and Palestine in the colors of the Kufiya** (colloquially also known as the “Pali scarf”) is enjoying increasing popularity, especially on Instagram . While the keffiyeh is a common piece of everyday clothing, in the European context it is often associated with Palestinians fighting against Israel and is seen as a symbol of the Palestinian struggle. A map colored accordingly denies Israel the right to exist in its current form.”

## 5.12 Pass

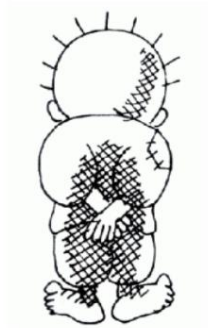


Image source: [Anti-Semitism: Symbols, codes, slogans at anti-Israel demonstrations - Belltower.News // From the river to the sea - Israel-related anti-Semitism in Bavaria 2021 - RIAS Bavaria.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#)



Source: [From the river to the sea - Israel-related Antisemitism in Bayern 2021 - RIAS Bavaria.pdf \(report-antisemitism.de\)](#) (2021)

- "The little boy Handala, who can only be seen from behind, is a **well-known one comic character in the Arab world** and was repeatedly shown at the anti-Israel demonstrations observed by RIAS Bayern."
- "Handala's clothes are tattered and patched, and his hair is sparse. His creator, Naji al-Ali, fled to Syria with his family during the Israeli War of Independence in 1948 at the age of ten and later became a cartoonist.  
  
**Throughout his life he insisted on a "solution" to the so-called Middle East conflict, which would make the entire land between the Jordan and the Mediterranean (from the river to the sea) Palestinian. There would be no place for Israel there, so in al-Ali's eyes it should not exist.**"
- "While al-Ali also criticizes Arab politicians in his cartoons - they are portrayed as snails who do nothing for the 'Palestinian cause' - his main focus is on Israel and the USA. **Israeli soldiers are always drawn in an anti-Semitic manner, for example with large noses or are depicted as 'spiders in a web'.** Handala is usually a passive observer, but sometimes he also becomes active, for example by setting fire to an Israeli flag."
- "Since the 1980s at the latest, Handala has been used by left-wing anti-imperialist groups in Germany as a symbol of solidarity with the so-called Palestinian liberation struggle. The figure is also the mascot of the anti-Semitic BDS campaign, which has been calling for a boycott of Israel since 2005 and in the context of which openly anti-Semitic activities have repeatedly occurred."
- "One of the three core demands of BDS is the so-called right of return. Handala is therefore a perfect mascot for a campaign that aims to end Israel as a Jewish state and whose "National Committee" includes, among others, the Palestinian National and Islamic Forces, which also includes Palestinian terrorist organizations such as Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and the PFLP."
- "Outwardly, Handala usually appears non-violent, although he sometimes does. Holds a firearm or a slingshot in his hands. **Handala is a symbol of the destruction of Israel, and its creator's cartoons are riddled with anti-Semitic stereotypes.**"





## 6 Expert list Hamas/Escalation Middle East

Status: 13.10.23, as independent a view of the situation as possible

Name	Location	function	Remarks
<b>Guido Steinberg</b> 	Berlin	Islamic scholar at Foundation Science & Politics	2002-2005 speaker for international Terrorism in Federal Chancellery, Focus: Political Islam, terrorism, Jihadism
<b>Dirk Peddinghaus</b> 	Hamburg	Lecturer & Middle East expert at German Institute for Defense & Strategic Studies of the Bundeswehr	Served 40 years in the German Armed Forces, including Naval Aviation Command & Head of International Cooperation, also published on Hamas
<b>Tilman Silk embroiderer</b> 	Hamburg	Senior Professor for Islamic Studies at the Uni Hamburg	Previously: University of Jena, research focus including Islamism, religious terror, Israel & Islam
<b>Muriel Asseburg</b> 	Berlin	Political scientist & International law expert at the foundation Science & Politics	Research group Middle East & Africa, Research focus: European- Israeli Relationships, Middle East conflict  Attention: is in the Criticism of one- sided arguments
<b>Ulrike Friday</b> 	Berlin	Director Leibniz Center Modern Orient, FU Berlin	Research focus: Middle East conflict & role of USA, Saudi Arabia

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<b>Peter Neumann</b> 	London	Professor of Political Science at King's College in London	Runs the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation, expert on Islamic terror  Ex-DW journalist  CDU member (was in "Future team" by Armin Laschet at the BTW 21 as an expert in security policy Questions)
<b>Sabine Hofmann</b> -no photo-	Berlin	Lecturer in Politics & Social Sciences at the FU Berlin	Research focus: conflict research, Middle East conflict, economic development in Israel & Palestine
<b>Carola Richter</b> 	Berlin	Lecturer in Politics & Social Sciences at the FU Berlin	Research focus: International communication, Protest movements in the Arab world, Middle East conflict & media reporting

## 7 Appendix – Tagesspiegel article

Copied from PDF of article because online text is behind a paywall.

[War between Israel and Hamas: Briefly explained – who is who and what is what in the Middle East conflict? \(tagesspiegel.de\)](https://www.tagesspiegel.de/middle-east/war-between-israel-and-hamas-briefly-explained-who-is-who-and-what-is-what-in-the-middle-east-conflict/2544444)



### War between Israel and Hamas: Briefly explained – who is who and what is what in the Middle East conflict?

Christian Böhme, Daniel Erk, Annett Heide, Kai Müller  
17. October 2023

“No other conflict has stirred up emotions as long and as intensely as the Middle East conflict, none has such a strong impact on other regions of the world, none is like this in the long term tiring.

With all the twists and turns and escalations he has taken, with all the wars and Fighting, riots and attacks, it is difficult to keep track of everything. There are many actors, political decisions and historical milestones. A compilation of the most important terms.

#### How did the Middle East conflict come about?

At its core, the Palestine or Middle East conflict is about the question of who is allowed to live in the region between the Jordan and the Mediterranean. Who can say: This is my country. Since



As Jewish settlers increasingly settled in the region at the beginning of the 20th century, they were also exposed to attacks by Arab gangs. So the desire for their own state grew. Zionism was boosted by growing anti-Semitism in Europe. After the Holocaust and the expulsion of many Jews from their homelands, tensions grew between Jewish and Arab militias in the British-ruled mandate. In 1948 they proposed a division, which was secured under international law by a **UN resolution**. Compact, fast and interactive The daily overview in the morning and evening

Where Israel and Palestine begin and end still depends very much on the respective point of view and constantly shifts. Although Israel has never officially established its borders, most states in the international community accept the lines established by the 1949 armistice. Through him, Jerusalem was divided and **the West Bank** (West Bank) and **Gaza Strip** were created as geopolitical units within the "Palestinian Territories".

From the perspective of Muslim freedom fighters, the fact that the UN took a position against Arab interests with its first major measure is evidence of the continuation of colonial interests in this region. In fact, actors on both sides see themselves as pawns in a much larger power struggle. Islamist groups such as **Hamas** and **Hezbollah** act as part of the major conflict between Sunnis and Shiites. The leading Shiite state is Iran, its counterpart on the Sunni side is Saudi Arabia. Iran is part of the Sino-Russian axis, and Arabia is on the American side.

In this way, global political interests affect a comparatively small regional conflict. Russia and China, as well as America and Europe, are competing for the energy resources of the Middle East. Loyalty to Israel is On the Western side, there is therefore a constant conflict with the good relations with the Arab world, which are needed to cover their own energy needs.

The emerging partnership between Israel and Saudi Arabia, which is being pushed through US mediation, is likely to shift the balance of power in favor of Israel and the West. The Palestinians are not included in this alliance, which also includes Egypt, Jordan and the United Arab Emirates ("**Abraham Accords**").

## Gaza

The approximately 40 kilometer long coastal strip, named after the largest settlement in Gaza and barely larger than the city of Bremen, owes its existence to the advance of Egyptian troops into Palestinian territory in 1948. They began their advance shortly after Israel's declaration of independence and the end of the British mandate.

The Egyptians occupied and controlled the area until they were ousted by Israel in the 1967 **Six-Day War**. The Israelis remained in control until the **Oslo peace process**.

In the mid-1990s, the 360 square kilometer area was handed over to Palestinian self-government. A year after the Israeli government cleared the last Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip in 2005, Hamas prevailed in regional elections. She has dominated him ever since. Elections have not taken place since 2006.

With 2.3 million inhabitants, the Gaza Strip is one of the most densely populated regions of the world, but are completely dependent on Israeli supplies of electricity, water and food. 80 percent of the population are dependent on aid deliveries, almost half do not have enough food. According to official figures, unemployment is also at almost 50 percent. 18,000 Palestinians recently had a

Work permit in Israel. The last entry of Israeli troops into the enclave took place in July 2014 ("Operation Protection Edge") and ended six weeks later with an indefinite ceasefire.

## Hamas

The Palestinian organization was founded in the late 1980s by Muslim clerics and political activists, primarily from the Gaza Strip, based on the model

Muslim Brotherhood founded. The name alludes to both the Arabic self-designation "Islamic Resistance Movement" and the words "fighting spirit" and "zeal."

The movement saw itself as a counterforce to the **PLO** and essentially consists of three parts: a political party, social institutions and the paramilitary **Kassam Brigades**. Its military arm regularly carries out attacks on Israeli border police, military personnel and, since the mid-1990s, civilians. In the USA and Europe, Hamas is therefore considered a terrorist organization. It also refuses to recognize the existence of the State of Israel and has set itself the goal of its destruction. Since it seized power in the Gaza Strip in 2007, it has been able to attack Israel with rockets.

The movement, which has been led by Ismail Haniyya from exile since 2017 and is headed in Gaza by Yahya Sinwar, is financed mainly by aid payments from allied countries such as Qatar, Syria, Iran and Saudi Arabia, by local taxes, but also by financial support in the context of development aid. This is passed on to aid organizations close to Hamas.

## What are PLO, Fatah – and who is Yasser Arafat?

The aim is already clear from the name. The "Organization for the Liberation of Palestine" (PLO for short) strives to establish an independent state for the Palestinians. It sees itself as the only legitimate representative of the people and for decades has relied on armed struggle and terrorism against the state of Israel.

The PLO was founded in 1964 at the instigation of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Umbrella organization of numerous Palestinian groups founded. They are all united by the desire for the "liberation of Palestine" and national independence, but they bring together very different political currents. The secular **Fatah** is by far the strongest party within the PLO. Founded in Kuwait in 1959, it now advocates a **two-state solution** through diplomatic means. In 1974, the PLO was declared a legitimate representation of the Palestinian people and was granted the status of Permanent Observer.

It was Yasser Arafat who made the PLO known all over the world. For more than 35 years (from 1969 until his death in 2004), the man with the Palestinian scarf (Kufiya) on his head was at its head and was also a co-founder of Fatah. He called himself a freedom fighter, but the later Nobel Peace Prize winner long preferred bloody attacks to help the "Palestinian cause" win.

After Arafat's death, Mahmud Abbas became PLO chairman in 2004. Today he is head of the Palestinian Authority and President. However, the 87-year-old has not faced an election for years. He rules in an authoritarian manner and continues to lose popularity. His Fatah is at odds with Hamas, and several attempts at reconciliation have failed.

## Palestinian Authority (PA)

The Palestinian Authority (PA) was founded in 1994 during the **Oslo Peace processes** established. Their job is to rule nominally as well as the to guarantee Palestinian self-government, i.e. basic electricity and water supplies, garbage collection and the school system. Yasser Arafat was the first Palestinian president. After his death, Mahmoud Abbas was elected head of the authority in January 2005. A year later, parliamentary elections were held, which resulted in a majority for Hamas. It then took sole control of the Gaza Strip. Abbas's term expired in 2009. The two elections are the only ones since the establishment of the PA.

Abbas does not have a good reputation among Palestinians. Since his authority extends fully to only 18 percent of the territory in the West Bank, another 20 percent is under shared control with Israel, and 62 percent of the area is classified as "C Areas," where the Israeli army has sole control, he is considered Vassal of the Jewish state. In addition, his authority has hardly gained any powers since Netanyahu came into power.

## West Bank

The West Bank, together with the Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem, forms the Palestinian territories. The Palestinians today refer to the **Gaza Strip** and parts of the territories as the State of Palestine; in Israel it is officially called Judea and Samaria. The dispute over this is at the heart of the Middle East conflict.

It is about the region west of the Jordan River on the border with Jordan, which was conquered by Jordanian troops in 1948 and controlled for almost twenty years. Around 3 million people live there, almost 500,000 of whom are Jewish settlers. The West Bank is largely under Israeli military administration, around 60 percent is occupied by Israel. The Palestinian part, where 80 percent of the population lives, is controlled by Fatah.

Historical Palestine, which extends somewhat beyond today's borders, belonged to the Ottoman Empire until 1918, when the mandatory power Great Britain took control.

## What are Israeli settlements?

Israel would be unthinkable without the establishment of Jewish settlements, which began at the beginning of the 20th century. But while previous generations of immigrants participated in the construction of a community in which many of the mistakes of other societies, be they greed or exclusion, were to be avoided, the Jewish settlement movement has increasingly become a project of missionary fanatics.

The "Hill Top Generation" is today the name given to those settlers who asserted their ownership claims on "holy ground" with fortress-like satellite towns and want nothing to do with the surrounding Palestinian villages. They hardly operate

still farming, but occupying hilltops with the intention of at least from there to symbolically control the surrounding area. Although they are sometimes heavily armed, the existence of the settlements is guaranteed primarily by the Israeli army.

Even after the **Six-Day War**, there were efforts to advance the "Israelization" of occupied territories by strategically settling Jewish immigrants. The aim was, as Defense Minister Moshe Dayan said, to create "new facts." However, national-religious motives did not play a role. This changed when the conservative Prime Minister Menachem Begin took office in 1977. He subsidized the establishment of settlements even in areas that were strategically insignificant. Since then, it has been the declared goal of the

Settlers to forestall the establishment of a Palestinian state. In 1977, 1,900 Jews lived in occupied territories; 40 years later, there were already half a million.

## Intifada

“Intifada”, Arabic for “rise up, shake off”, refers to two-year-long uprisings by Palestinians against the Israeli occupation. The construction of settlements and the occupation of the Gaza Strip led to anger and a lack of prospects among the Palestinians and resulted in the **First Intifada in 1987**. It is also known as the “War of the Stones”. The Palestinians initially threw stones and Molotov cocktails, whereupon the Israeli army fired back. Then Palestinians also took up arms. 200 Israelis and more than 1,100 Palestinians died in the violent clashes. They only ended with the signing of the **Oslo Accords** in 1993.

The **Second Intifada** or Al-Aqsa Intifada began in 2000 after the Peace negotiations had failed. When Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount in the Old City of Jerusalem, which is also holy for Muslims, on September 28th, violent demonstrations broke out the next day. Four people were killed. Violent clashes then began in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank and the Second Intifada was declared. It is characterized primarily by terrorist attacks and suicide bombings in Israel and only ended in 2005 with the signing of a ceasefire. Around 1,100 Israelis and 4,900 Palestinians were killed.

## Hezbollah

Hezbollah emerged as a Shiite organization from the Lebanese civil war that devastated the multi-ethnic state between 1975 and 1990. Although it's only that

The Ayatollah regime's seizure of power in Tehran and its desire required a to lead Islamist militias from Lebanon in a fight against Israel until the “HisbAllah” (Party of God) was formed in 1982. Just one year later, she drove a truck loaded with 910 kilograms of explosives into the US embassy in Beirut.

The movement, which has been led by Hassan Nasrallah since 1992, acts as a political party on the one hand, but is also a regional power that maintains its own semi-state structures, particularly in the south and in the Baalbek Valley in the northeast. Its military arm intervened in the Syrian civil war in 2012 on the orders of the Iranian regime in favor of the dictator Bashar al-Assad. The increase in terrorist attacks against Israel, in which Israeli soldiers and citizens were killed and injured, led to the **Lebanon War in 2006**, during which the Israeli army bombed Hezbollah facilities throughout Lebanon.

For Hezbollah – unlike Hamas – a military attack on Israel carries the risk of losing support in Lebanese society, which does not feel directly harassed by Israel.

## Kassam Brigade

The elite militia, called the “Batalions of the Martyr Izz ad-Din al-Qassam”, acts as paramilitary unit of Hamas. It is responsible for more than 90 suicide attacks and attributed to countless bomb attacks in which 650 Israeli civilians fell victim. It was founded during the First **Intifada** from 1987 with the aim of sabotaging the **Oslo peace process** through violence and attacks.

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It is largely thanks to her that Hamas gained power in the Gaza Strip in 2007 paramilitary capabilities, which it also uses against its own population and opposition voices. In the internal power struggle with the Palestinian nationalist **Fatah**, it is said to have resorted to an estimated 3,000 Kassam soldiers. The main targets of their attacks were border crossings, where hundreds of people were killed and injured.

The supply of weapons and other goods takes place via a so-called "tunnel economy". For example, Hamas uses a complex tunnel system on the border with Egypt as a supply system. In this way, Hamas tried to evade Israeli control, with some support from the Egyptian side, until the Islamist fighters allied themselves with separatist terrorist groups on the Sinai Peninsula.

The Qassam commanders are high up in the Hamas hierarchy. Yahiya Sinwar, a convicted murderer in Israel, led the Qassam Brigades for years before becoming the leader of Hamas in the **Gaza Strip** in 2016 .

## How did the division of Israel and Palestinian territories come about?

The arrival of Jewish settlers to Palestine had continued for decades when the Holocaust changed everything. During the Second World War, more Jews than ever tried to find protection in the British mandate. Thousands arrived from Europe, many illegally and at great risk.

The large influx of Jewish immigrants led to growing tensions with Arab militias, which the British colonial government had less and less control over. British troops themselves also became the target of increasing attacks. The newly founded UN worked out a partition plan for the area, which placed Jerusalem under international supervision and envisaged an Israeli and an Arab state.

While the Jewish groups welcomed the plan, the Arab side rejected it categorically. Tensions and civil war-like conditions arose, so that the UN partition plan was never implemented in its current form. When the British mandate in Palestine expired, the State of Israel declared its independence in 1948 and was attacked shortly afterwards by a broad alliance of Arab states, including Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iraq.

However, the attackers did not have the military strength to take them would have allowed the destruction of the Jewish structure. Instead, Israel conquered territories that were not originally theirs. Palestinians fled in large numbers neighboring countries as well as in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, where permanently Refugee camps emerged. Through UN mediation, a **ceasefire was agreed in 1949**, the lines of which are generally recognized as state borders.

## Nakba

For Palestinians, the Nakba (English: catastrophe, misfortune) is the central term for the collective trauma of flight and expulsion from their homeland. This refers to a process that began on May 15, 1948 – exactly one day after the founding of Israel and the day of the attack by several Arab armies on the

new Jewish state. An estimated 700,000 Palestinians fled the former British mandate territory or were forcibly expelled. The Israeli army destroyed hundreds of Arab villages and the Palestinians were prevented from returning.

## Six-Day War

With a preemptive military strike against Jordan and Egypt in 1967, Israel forestalled attacks by its neighbors. It conquered all areas they held, including East Jerusalem and the Sinai Peninsula. Israel only ceded claims to this latter conquest as part of the peace negotiations with Egypt in 1979. East Jerusalem was annexed in 1980. Although Israel shied away from such a move regarding the West Bank and Gaza Strip, it gradually expanded its presence there with a **settlement program** whose territorial gains are not internationally recognized.

## Jom-Kippur-Krieg

Although the surprise attack by Syria, Egypt and other Arab states in October 1973 was successfully repelled by Israel after three dramatic weeks, it had a devastating effect on Jewish fear of annihilation.

The enemy had chosen the most important Jewish holiday for their attack. Their attack caught the country completely unprepared, and units had to be mobilized to stop the enemy advance.

After two days, the Israeli army went on a counteroffensive, drove Syria from the Golan Heights and also advanced in Sinai far beyond the former ceasefire line to the Suez Canal. The war permanently changed the geopolitical map. Strengthened by their initial successes, at least Egypt and Jordan later entered into peace negotiations. And in Israel too, the idea that security was more important than land was gaining ground.

## Has the peace process in Oslo failed?

After Israel agreed to a peace agreement with Egypt in 1979, it also sought a peace treaty with Jordan, with which it shares the longest border. King Hussein made it a condition that the Palestinian question be part of the negotiations because "every time a Palestinian family mourns the loss of a member, someone in Jordan cries too." But reaching an understanding with Yasser Arafat's **PLO** proved far more difficult.

The talks between the opposing parties initially had to be conducted through unofficial channels take place. Israeli university professor Yair Hirschfeld met PLO Finance Minister Ahmed Qurei for the first time in London in 1992. The conversation was preceded by three years of preparations. Then in early 1993 the Knesset banned all contact with the PLO. Whereupon Hirschfeld and Qurei continued undercover.

When Foreign Minister Simon Peres traveled to Oslo in August of that year to...

To officially launch the peace process, the negotiators had agreed on the main features of the Agreement: Both sides recognized each other as sovereign representatives. The PLO committed itself to removing the destruction of Israel from its charter. In return, **the Gaza Strip** and **the West Bank** were to be governed by a Palestinian **Authority** .

Other contentious issues such as the status of Jerusalem were left out and were to be settled in later negotiations. After a second step in September 1995 was taken to determine which areas in the West Bank should receive full, shared or no Palestinian autonomy, Prime Minister Rabin was assassinated. Despite numerous attempts, no agreement was reached between **Fatah** and Israel.

The process that was supposed to find ways to lasting peace was no longer seen as a

such. The Netanyahu governments believed that they no longer had to worry about him.

## Will there be a two-state solution?

The concept of "two states for two peoples," each with Jerusalem as its capital, was never popular. Support was not great among Israelis, who would have to withdraw from parts of their ancestral land, nor among Palestinians, who would have to accept the final loss of their original homeland. Recently, support has continued to decline, reaching a historic low in April 2023, according to a survey. Only 35 percent of Israelis considered the two-state solution to be feasible.

But all alternatives that bring ongoing conflict into the interior of a state or a...

If the association of states were to relocate, there would be even less chance of success "peaceful solution to the question of Palestine", as called for in several UN resolutions.

To separate Palestinians and Israelis into two states, "side by side "would exist within safe and recognized borders" goes back to the **UN Partition Plan** of 1948. Israel gave itself a state structure that year, but the Palestinians did not. The start of the peace talks in Oslo at the beginning of the 1990s was accompanied by the mutual recognition of Israel and **the PLO** . But Israel paid for the rapprochement with Palestinian positions with a series of attacks on its own territory, which were controlled by the radical Islamic Hamas. The desire of many Israelis for more security led to isolation from the end of the 1990s and the attempt to avoid continuing the peace process by splitting the Palestinian movement into **Fatah** and **Hamas** .

The main obstacle to a two-state solution on the Palestinian side is the progressive **settlement construction** in Israeli-occupied areas in the West Bank, which in has been condemned as contrary to international law by several UN resolutions. 53 percent of Palestinian civilians support an armed struggle to establish an independent state – an increase of 12 percent compared to 2022."